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tive attributes. The *teocalli* just referred to was presumably a temple of this god; his symbol appears on one of the glyphs. This temple is but one of a number of pre-Columbian structures which still exist on both sides of the present village of Tepoztlán. It was called to the attention of the scientific world by a native of the village, Ing. D. Francisco Rodriguez, in 1895, when it was cleared and studied.[1]

The god of the temple in his capacity as patron of Tepoztlán, or perhaps another closely associated with Ome Tochtli, was known as Tepoztecatl.[2] This name survives today in Tepoztlán as that of a legendary chieftain of the ancient *pueblo*. The ruined *teocalli* on the cliff above the town is known as the "house of Tepozteco." A number of tales, some of which are told not only locally but in other villages of South-Central Mexico, deal with the miraculous birth and heroic adventures of Tepoztecatl.[3] At a *fiesta* held once a year in Tepoztlán, a dance-drama commemorates the val-

habitants were vassals of the Marquis of the Valley" (commentary to p. 38 of the Codex Magliabecchi, trans. T. T. Waterman and published [1903] by the University of California Press as *The Book of Life of the Ancient Mexicans*).

[1] See Seler, *op. cit.*; Marshall H. Saville, art., "The Temple of Tepoztlán"; Francisco Rodriguez, art., "Descripción de la piramide llamada Casa del Tepozteco"; Manuel Miranda y Marron, art., "Una excursión a Tepoztlán, Morelos. El teocalli de Ometochtli."

[2] His representation appears on p. 23 of the manuscript in the National Library of Florence. The face, of two colors, bears a semilunar nose ornament (*yacametli*); the figure carries a shield and a hatchet. Early references to Tepoztecatl are collected by González Casanova, in art., "El ciclo legendario del Tepoztecatl," pp. 18–25.

[3] Three stories of this character, two from Tepoztlán and one from Milpa Alta, Distrito Federal, are published in Nahuatl text and Spanish translation by P. González Casanova, *op. cit.*

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orous defense of Tepoztlán by Tepoztecatl against the attacks of neighboring *pueblos*. These tales and this ritual are but dim echoes of ancient memories, although they constitute an important part of the more ancient lore; they lie upon the margins of attention in the Tepoztlán of today.

A document apparently written in 1580[1] gives some information as to Tepoztlán before and just after the Conquest. The inhabitants sold in neighboring *pueblos* the wood that abounded on their hillsides and the lime to be found in their territory. Their principal industry was the making of paper of fiber obtained from a tree. The name of this commodity (*amatl*) survives today in the name of one of the villages in the valley (Amatlan), and the grooved-stone pulp-beaters used in the ancient industry are among the commonest of pre-Columbian artifacts to be encountered in the valley.

The Spaniard first entered Tepoztlán in 1521. In that year, the same which saw the subjugation of Tenochtitlan, Cortés passed through Tepoztlán on his way to Cuernavaca from Yautepec. "There we found many pretty women and much loot," says Bernal Díaz del Castillo. As certain Yautepec chieftains there seeking refuge would not give themselves up, the Spaniards set fire to half the town.[2] Later, Tepoztlán

[1] The "Relación de Tepoztlán," published by Francisco Plancarte in the *Boletin oficial y revista eclesiastica del obispado de Cuernavaca*, X, 313–17, 326–31, and 348–52, and cited in Miguel Salinas, art., "La Sierra de Tepoztlán," pp. 362 ff.

[2] Bernal Díaz del Castillo, *The Conquest of New Spain*, Book X, chap. cxliv (IV, 67, of the Hakluyt translation).

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August 4.—The *fiesta* of the village of Santo Domingo takes place on this date. *Los Moros* dance before their own *santo.* 796* [535]

August 5.—The *chirimía* plays on the chapel of Santa Cruz. [533]

August 6.—The *chirimía* continues to play in Santa Cruz; it is the *fiesta* of San Salvador, the patron saint of the *barrio.* [776]

September 8 (about).—Today is *Altepe-ilhuitl* ("*fiesta* of the *pueblo*"), commemorative of El Tepozteco, the legendary eponymous king of the Tepoztecos in the days before the Conquest. Men enact the successful defense of the temple on the cliff against the seven attacking towns of the valley. In the late afternoon a tall wooden tower is built in the *plaza.* This represents the *teocalli.* On this climbs a man representing El Tepozteco and others taking the parts of his fighting men. They wear red-and-yellow tunics and feather headdresses. They beat drums and the *tepenaztli.* Seven men, riding on seven *burros*, come to attack the *teocalli* and are driven off with arrows. El Tepozteco delivers a traditional defiance in Nahuatl, and the attackers reply with similar set speeches.[1] 527 536 [773] [292] [533]

September 28.—The *chirimía* plays on the roof of the chapel of San Miguel, and the women of that *barrio* grind corn for the *tamales;* tomorrow is their *fiesta.* 796* [533]

September 29.—This is the day of the *fiesta* of the *barrio* of San Miguel.

[1] See Carleton Beals' article in *Mexican Life.*

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ready been stated,[1] each of the seven *barrios* has likewise its special protector. There are usually a number of images in each church, but only one, usually enshrined in the principal altar, is the local guardian. (In the chapels of the *barrios* there is often[2] only the one image: that of the namesake and patron of the *barrio*.) It is the particular effigy that is venerated; reports[3] are plentiful of the refusal of the people to accept a new effigy of the saint as at all the equivalent of the old.

The people who live in the community presided over by the *santo* have a particular and exclusive attitude toward his protection. It is they primarily who make offerings on his name day; and it is they who have the task and the pleasure of maintaining his chapel, his cornfield, and his vestments. And they are rewarded with his special care. "San Sebastian," said a man of that *barrio*, "is the most miraculous *santo* in Tepoztlán. Therefore we are the most fortunate *barrio*. He appears to us in dreams and gives us advice."

Around these *santos* tend to cluster legends of their miraculous power.

> Our *santo* [of Santa Cruz] is very miraculous. Therefore we venerate it. When the Carranzistas, during the revolution, tried to break into the chapel, their bullets flattened on the door and refused to enter. One man went in and started toward the altar. He fell dead at the foot of the altar. It is a very miraculous

[1] Chap. iv.

[2] La Santa Cruz is one exception.

[3] Gamio, *La población del valle de Teotihuacan*, II, 215; Adan, art., "Las danzas de Coatetelco."

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773 778 image. It punishes too. If one does something evil, first one's children die, then oneself. But it does all we ask it in good faith. So we venerate it much.

Most of the *santos* receive veneration only in the locality. But when legends such as this cluster thickly, the image comes to be sought by people not of the region, and in this way develop the sacred shrines of Mexico, such as Guadalupe and Chalma. The Virgin [776] of Guadalupe, with the universally known story of her miraculous apparition to an ordinary Indian, is the religious common denominator of Mexico. So at 776 778 lesser shrines an individual may develop a special personal relation with a *santo* not his by inheritance. An Otomi Indian from north of Mexico City was in a village in the state of Puebla during the revolution. He attributed his escape from death in a serious engagement to the local *santo;* therefore he now makes occasional pilgrimages to her shrine. Such relationships are often entered into in times of crisis by a conditional vow which is essentially contractual.[1]

[551] [171] Neither the present materials nor those of Dr. Gamio indicate special personal relations between an individual and the *santo* on whose name day the individual is born, such as occur in Catholic Europe.

The word *santo* is special and exact; there is no substitute for it, and it is used in both Spanish and Nahuatl discourse. Generally it means any sacred effigy;

[1] Gamio (*op. cit.*, II, 217) prints the text of an actual written contract made by votaries intending to perform certain religious dances in exchange for the good will of the saint, the penalty for failure to perform the dances to be incarceration in the local jail.

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Zapata was a very great man. The only reason he lost was that he had no money. He fought for the poor people, but the millionaires were against him. [769] [173]

Zapata as a symbol embodies the group consciousness of the Indians of Morelos which developed during the revolution. His exploits are sung all over Mexico, but it is especially in Morelos that his memory is revered. *Corridos*[1] about him, written elsewhere in Mexico, describe his "base passions" and refer to him as "an Attila." But in the songs of the local collection he is "our defender," "a Napoleon," "our exalted savior," "the scourge of many a traitor," and "so wise and quick-thinking a *veterano*." [669] [186] [171] [533]

Les encargó a las fuerzas surianas	He charged the forces of the south
Que como jefe y sublime redentor;	As chief and exalted savior;
Su memoria conserven mañana	To preserve his memory tomorrow
Como prueba de su patrio amor.	As a proof of their love of country.

[539]

It is only in Morelos, in Tepoztlán and scores of Indian villages like it, that Zapata becomes truly legendary, and then even mythical. It is only in Morelos that he becomes a King Arthur, a Robin Hood. The stories and songs about Zapata may be dignified with the term "cycle." To the extent that these stories and songs merely keep alive a glorious memory they are legends—the folk counterpart of history. To the extent that the figure of Zapata defines the standards and justifies the conduct and ethical judgments of the people out of which he arose, they are myths. [769] [773] [533]

[1] Obtained in printed form in Mexico City.

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Carriles is ferreted out "just as he was, in his stockings," and the story ends swiftly.

Les juntó toditos, y les dió las onze,[1]	He brought them all together, and gave them a drink,
Y hincados frente de una peña,	And kneeling in front of a rock,
"Besen esta cruz y toquen clarines de bronze,	"Kiss this cross and let bronze trumpets sound,
"Y griten, ¡Que muera España!"	"And cry, Die Spain!"
Viva el General Zapata,	Long live General Zapata,
Viva su fe, y su opinión,	Long live his faith, and his cause,
Porque se la propuesto morir por la patria,	Because he made up his mind to die for the country,
Como yo, por la nación.	As I, for the nation.

Zapata is already a legend, but he tends to become a myth. He is already a representative of the type of heroic figure, a King Arthur, a Jesse James. Around his memory clings an aura of the miraculous. There are as yet no stories of his magical birth or parentage; perhaps they will come in time. He had, however, an inexplicable faculty of escaping his enemies, and he was equipped with a horse with powers that were supernatural.

Zapata was miraculously clever at escaping. He was many times surrounded but he always got away. One day he was penned into a house by the federals. The only entrance was by the *zaguán*, where there were federal troops. The wall at the back of the house was as high as that shelf [about seven feet]. Zapata had a wonderful horse. It was called Relámpago ["Lightning"]. When the federal troops were about to close in on him, he drove his spurs into Relámpago and leaped the wall—he was gone, none knew where.

When he came into a *pueblo* with his forces they always tried

[1] "It struck eleven for them"—a localism.

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769 773 to find a house, oh, very clean [*muy limpiacita*], for him to sleep in. When he was sleeping no one might enter except his orderly. But many times Zapata would get up in the middle of the night and go and sleep under some rock in some secret place. None knew how he got there. Thus, though many times the federals surrounded the house where he slept, he always got away.

At the time of these investigations the "mythification" of Zapata had reached the point where the rumor was current that Zapata had escaped death at Chinameca and was still alive. *Corridos* of the reportorial type, written outside of Morelos shortly after the event and still current, describe the actual facts. The trap was set and sprung at Chinameca and Zapata was shot down by the soldiers of Jesús Guajardo on April 9, 1919. His body was exhibited in Cuauhtla to thousands; his tomb there is still a place of pilgrimage. Nevertheless the story current in Morelos among the Zapatistas is that it was another man who was killed. In the summer of 1926 a singer of that region put the story into a *corrido*, which begins:

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Han publicado, los cantadores,	They have spread, those singers,
Una mentira fenomenal,	An extraordinary lie,
Y todos dicen que ya Zapata	And everybody says that now Zapata
Descansa en paz en la eternidad.	Rests in eternal peace.
Pero si Ustedes me dan permiso	But if you will give me permission
Y depositan confianza en mi,	And rest your trust in me,
Voy a cantarles lo mas preciso,	I am going to tell you the exact truth,
Para informarles tal como ví.	So as to let you know just how I saw it.

The ballad goes on to tell how Pablo Gonzáles, a Carranzista general, when he learned that Zapata had

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gone to San Juan Chinameca, summoned Jesús Guajardo and with him developed the plan to send Guajardo to Zapata with the proposal that Guajardo turn Zapatista and deliver his forces and funds to the southern leader. Zapata then professed interest, and responded to Guajardo with an invitation to meet him at dinner. But Zapata knew that a trap was laid for him.

Como Zapata es tan veterano,	As Zapata is such a veteran,
Sagaz y listo para pensar,	Wise and quick witted,
Ya había pensado de ante mano	He had already thought beforehand
Mandar otro hombre en su lugar.	To send another man in his place.

So to one Jesús Delgado are given the coat, breeches, and leggings of Zapata, and he rides forth to die for Zapata.

Estado arriba, le dijo a su compadre,	Arrived at the top, he said to his companion,
"Hoy si estamos en la perdición,	"Now indeed we are lost,
¡Adiós, México, mi patria libre,	Farewell, Mexico, my free country,
¡Adiós, adiós, mi fiel nación!	Farewell, farewell, my true country!"
Le salió el tiro por la culata,	The shot came out through the back,[1]
Es positivo y no hay que dudar,	It is certain and cannot be doubted,
Pues se engañaron porque a Zapata,	But they were deceived about Zapata,
Ni una razón le han de poder dar.	They cannot put Zapata down.

[1] "They were fooled."

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769 At about the same time as first appeared this *cor-*
●773 *rido* a soldier of Zapata in Tepoztlán gave his version of the matter in the following words:

> It is not known whether Zapata still lives or whether he really was killed as reported. Some say he is in Arabia, and will return when he is needed. For myself, I think he still lives. I know he had a scar on his cheek, and the corpse that was brought back from Chinameca had no scar. I saw it myself. It is said Zapata knew the danger he was in, and had another put on his clothes and go out to die for him. He himself is in hiding, and still lives. He will come back when he is needed.

In this version the wish of the Zapatistas has found expression in the added element that looks to the [186] future—the idea that some day the hero will return. Thus are justified the group consciousness and latent political ambitions of the Zapatistas. The story is now more than a memory, more than a legend; it is a myth.

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Fig. 49. Ancient god of pulque.

. . . famous idol celebrated by this entire kingdom and visited by the foreigners who made pilgrimages to it and offerings which they carried from the kingdom of Chiapas and Guatemala.[5]

[773] The discovery of pulque, the popular intoxicating drink of the Aztecs, is attributed by legend to El Tepozteco, a Tepoztecan culture hero who was later worshipped as a god. In certain seasons of the year the cult of Ometochtli had all the characteristics of a collective orgy, celebrated in a feast called Pilhuana, at which children were intoxicated. The Codex Magliabecchiano of Florence describes it as follows:

This is the figure of a great god of intoxication that a town which is called Tepoztlán had as its rite; when a drunken Indian died the elders of the town made a great feast carrying copper axes with which they cut the wood.[6]

THE COLONIAL PERIOD

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The story of the conversion of Tepoztecans to Catholicism is still conserved in village legend, and the following version was given us by a conservative and aged

[5] M. F. Agustín Dávila y Padilla, *Historia de la Fundación y Discurso de la Provincia de Santiago de México*, 2nd ed. (Brussels, 1625), p. 617.

[6] *Estado de Morelos. Estudios Histórico—Económico—Fiscales Sobre los Estados de la República* (México, Secretaría de Hacienda), II (1939), 42.

2;Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

ceived the ashes together in a special place set aside in the church. The apportionment of the ashes was done in a hierarchal order for the entire population, first the high functionaries, next the *caciques* and their wives, then the assistant functionaries, and finally the townsmen. In another distribution, ashes were given to those from neighboring villages, then to individuals from more distant villages, and finally to all latecomers.

Despite the increased importance of the church at this time some Tepoztecans, without giving up their faith, had developed a critical attitude toward the church. While most remained passive and docile, by the time the Revolution began many Tepoztecans were ready to join the struggle against the church and state.

THE REVOLUTION

The coming of the Mexican Revolution severely disrupted the religious life of Tepoztlán. The priest and the *caciques*, the strongest supporters of the church, fled for their lives and religious activity came to a standstill. The church and chapels were abandoned, the ancient monastery became troop headquarters and stables, and soldiers camped in the churchyard. Church and municipal archives were reduced to ashes, the sacred communion cups disappeared, cloaks were taken from the holy images to cover the wounded. For weeks at a time the local population had to live in the hills to avoid being killed. As an informant put it, "Who could think of religion in those days?"

After many bitter years peace was slowly established, and "since man cannot live without religion, for it makes him bad," once again the people began to think of the church.

In 1920, when the fighting was about over, an incident occurred which greatly stimulated religious life. At that time there was a drought in Tepoztlán and the surrounding area and the crops were severely threatened. In the same year, according to our informants, El Tepozteco returned to Tepoztlán. He appeared to a peasant from Yautepec who was on his way to Tepoztlán. The mythical figure no longer wore his ancient dress but was dressed as a humble peasant in white shirt and *calzones* and broad-brimmed Zapatista sombrero, and with a handkerchief tied around his neck in typical local fashion.

El Tepozteco spoke to the peasant, saying, "Go and tell my village that I am very angry because they have my mother (the Virgin of Natividad) naked and that is why I have not wanted it to rain. They must buy her a crown and a tunic of silk and satin and then I will send abundant rain."

Then he mysteriously disappeared and the man from Yautepec hurried to Tepoztlán to tell what had happened. When the news had spread through the village, some of the *mayordomos* of the old *cofradías* took it upon themselves to collect money to buy the clothing and adornment for the Virgin. A few days later, according to Tepoztecans, it began to rain and the crops were saved.

With the help of this incident the more pious people sought to re-establish the church and return to their former religious practices. The village priest, Padre Pedro

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hand, "that one is the Lord of the World." The second is "the one who died for us, the one who was crucified." The third is "the Holy Ghost or the Holy Dove," who is frequently depicted with the symbol of a dove to which Tepoztecans give divine attributes.

El Tepozteco occupies a special place in Tepoztecan religion and is unique to this community. The process by which he was deified and confused with Catholic figures was paralleled in localities all through Mexico during the colonial period. He continues to play an important role in Tepoztlán, is constantly evoked, and is one of the few legendary figures in the village. He is described to the children in the following manner:

Tepozteco cannot be known; his house is on the hill near El Parque. There he has his *comal*, his *metate*, and everything which he needs in his house, but he himself does not appear. He always lives far off among the clouds. When they don't give him a good celebration on the eighth of September he sends a great wind; when the celebration is a good one then he does nothing, he is content. Tepozteco is a god who is lovable and cruel. He has only one punishment for the village—he takes away the water. He makes *los aires* and they cause illness. He has a mother who is in the church. We say a Mass for his mother. His mother is named *Tonantzin* and also *Natividad*.

Legends about El Tepozteco continually spring up. The most recent of these was told in the early days of World War II, after Mexico declared war on the Axis and obligatory military service was established:

In those days of worry and confusion, a conscript was walking the streets of Cuernavaca. He was crying because he had been called to the army. Suddenly at the corner he saw a boy, dressed like a peasant. The boy asked the youth why he was crying. "Why shouldn't I cry, for I must be a soldier, and they have ordered me to the war to defend the United States, and I must leave my old parents. If it were to fight for my country it would be bad enough but to fight for the gringos. . . ." Then the boy said, "Go in peace. Your tears are not in vain. Neither you nor other young Mexicans will have to go to fight for a foreign government. You will learn to be a soldier, but you will never leave the country. Go to the village of Tepoztlán and take an offering to my mother, the Virgen de la Natividad." Then the boy disappeared mysteriously.

The soldier was very impressed by what had happened. He told his parents and they decided to go to Tepoztlán with an offering. After that they began to tell the people of that village what had happened, and everyone understood that El Tepozteco had spoken again. El Tepozteco kept his word, for none of the conscripts went to fight for the United States.

Tepoztecans do not distinguish clearly between those misfortunes which might be considered punishments of God, or the work of the devil. Tepoztecans believe firmly in the devil, who is generally called *el pingo*, and to whom is attributed many of the evils which befall them. The powers of the devil, however, are relatively few; he cannot cause drought but he can cause harm to a person, making him an idiot or carrying him off bodily. The devil always appears dressed as a Mexican horseman or as "a tall gentleman, dressed in black like respectable people,

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"bad" boys. Other punishments are keeping a child in during the recreation hour; reporting bad behavior to the parents; giving out tasks, such as sweeping the classroom or yard, working in the garden, or writing an assigned sentence one hundred times. One girl was locked up in the henhouse for hitting other children. Parents generally approve of physical punishment in the school, and some think the school is now too lenient. In the past, it was common practice for parents who could not control their children at home to ask the teacher to discipline them. Children who are punished in school rarely tell their parents about it for fear that they will be punished a second time at home. Causes for punishment in school are inattentiveness, not knowing the lesson, fighting, and disobedience.

Other methods are also used to instill fear in the child. It is common for parents, particularly mothers, to threaten to desert their children, playing on the children's fear of becoming orphans. One mother said that she can get obedience from her children by telling them that she will stop eating and die so that they will have to live with a cruel stepmother. Children are told that if they are naughty they will be carried off by a stranger who will make soap out of them. Any passer-by, and recently the *gringo*, is used to frighten children in this way. In Tepoztlán, where children have occasion to see many tourists and outsiders coming and going, the fear of strangers has worn off, but in the nearby smaller villages children run to hide when an unfamiliar person appears in the streets.

Many mothers and grandmothers tell children stories of owls and coyotes coming out at night to eat bad children and of bats and opossums that drink blood. Children who lie or disobey are told that they will turn into devils and burn in hell. They are told that badness is always punished in some unexpected way, such as being bitten by a mad dog, and that goodness is rewarded with good luck.

The sound of a child crying appears to be a particular source of irritation in adults, especially in men, and children are frequently frightened into silence by threats of punishment. The story of Cahuasohuanton, a spirit who listens outside the walls of the house and imitates the child crying, is told to frighten crying children into silence. The story, translated from the Náhuatl, goes as follows:

> Once it happened that a child was crying a great deal, and his parents told him to lie down and go to sleep. He did not want to and sat near the hearth crying. His parents kept telling him to stop and then they fell asleep. After a while they awoke and heard a voice saying, "Cahuasohuanton yo ni concua," or "Cahuasohuanton has eaten him." The parents stood up and lighted a candle and there, near the hearth they saw the child dead, with his abdomen torn open and his intestines out and they knew that Cahuasohuanton had been there.

Cahuasohuanton is a very fear-inspiring figure and children invariably cease crying when told that he is coming.

Frightening children is sometimes done for the amusement of adults. One informant remembered being very frightened as a child when his favorite uncle, after having told some ghost stories, suddenly told the child to run because a ghost was